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United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Executive Registry
85- 1630

April 15, 1985

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President

We have just received our own independent, first-hand, fact finding report about the critical situation faced by Commander Eden Pastora's ARDE anti-Communist guerrilla force in Southern Nicaragua. Eden Pastora is a strongly anti-Communist Freedom Fighter, but his forces desperately need American help. He seems to have a genuine popular following. He is a charismatic leader who already has attracted a wide following in Nicaragua. Like the FDN in the North, Pastora's ARDE in the South deserves our support.

Eden Pastora has received some U.S. government support in the past, and we believe that support should be immediately resumed and increased. No matter what difficulties may have occurred in the past, we believe that in this critical period, U.S. policy toward Eden Pastora should at least be guided by the time-tested maxim: "The enemy of my enemy is my friend."

The recent March, 1985 U.S. State and Defense Department booklet entitled The Soviet-Cuban Connection in Central America and the Caribbean describes Eden Pastora as a "legendary" military leader. It quotes Pastora's own critique of Sandinista leaders as direct evidence of the Sandinista commitment to Marxism-Leninism:

"[Sandinista leaders] isolated themselves from what Sandinismo is supposed to be about. Violations of human rights, Cuban troops in Nicaragua, the alignment toward the Soviet bloc, the moral deviations, it's a long list."

This indicates that the State and Defense Departments believe that Eden Pastora deserves our support as much as the FDN. A recent Administration policy paper states that "the United States has a clear, undeniable moral imperative not to abandon those brave men and women [the Contras] in their fight to establish democracy and respect for human rights in Nicaragua."



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Yet Eden Pastora's guerrilla forces have just had two outposts in the jungle overrun by Marxist-Leninist Sandinistas, and just like our own Revolutionary War Minutemen citizen-soldiers, his volunteer troops need all kinds of supplies urgently. Eden Pastora has liberated over 10,000 square kilometers of Sandinista territory. Thousands of helpless refugees from Marxist-Leninist oppression have trekked for weeks through the jungles seeking freedom and his protection.

Mr. President, we realize that in this climactic phase of American foreign policy toward Central America, we are now facing up to the extreme danger of a Central America dominated by Marxist-Leninist Sandinistas backed by Soviet and Cuban support. Because of this Soviet-Cuban support, we are forced to respond in kind. Eden Pastora's forces have already been attacked by Soviet MI-24 Hind helicopters capable of spreading "Yellow Rain" Chemical and Biological Warfare munitions.

While there are certain legal and legislative constraints on U.S. aid to the anti-Sandinista Freedom Fighters, we believe that much can be done to help Pastora's and the FDN's Contra forces. Accordingly, we request the following immediate policy actions:

- 1. U.S. policy concurrence in military support of FDN and Pastora's ARDE Contras by democratic Central American Armies;
- 2. Release of American constraints on the use of FDN and ARDE-owned Contra aircraft in the region;
- 3. Release to FDN and ARDE Contras of old non-U.S. rifles previously used by regional armies and also rifles captured from Marxist rebels:
- 4. Urgent provisions to Pastora of 100,000 rounds of 7.62 mm. (B-39) ball ammunition, 100,000 rounds of 7.62 mm. (B-49) ball ammunition, 100,000 rounds of 50 caliber ammunition, 1,000 M-79 grenades, and 100,000 rounds of 5.56 mm M-16 ammunition from regional army-owned surplus stocks;
- 5. U.S. policy concurrence in regional military provision of surplus foodstuffs and medicines to FDN and ARDE Contras;

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- 6. U.S. policy concurrence in provision of defensive measures against Soviet "Yellow Rain" to the Contras by regional armies;
- 7. U.S. provision to Eden Pastora of one third of the pending \$14 million in U.S. humanitarian aid to the anti-Communist Nicaraguan Freedom Fighters, in order to help Pastora take care of the thousands of refugees fleeing from Communism into the area controlled by Pastora.

Mr. President, we believe that each of these policy actions is fully consistent with existing law and legislative guidance. Moreover, these policy actions are fully in accordance with the "Symms Amendment", which passed Congress overwhelmingly three times in 1962, 1982, and 1984. The "Symms Amendment" requires U.S. resistance to Soviet military bases in Cuba, and $\overline{\text{U.S.}}$ resistance to Soviet-Cuban subversion and aggression anywhere in the Western Hemisphere, by force of arms if necessary.

We believe that U.S. failure to comply with the Symms Amendment and adopt the above policy actions would be interpreted by our friends in the region as a sign that the U.S. will not be able to reverse Soviet-Cuban subversion and aggression in Central America.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Jesse Helms Tofaloolu Walleys

Copies to:
Secretary of State
Secretary of Defense
Under Secretary of Defense for Policy
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
L Director of the Central Intelligence Agency